

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 00394 01 OF 02 291404Z
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AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0394

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDIP, PFOR, TZ, US, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW), PINT
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO AFRICA: BRIEFING PAPER:
TANZANIAN DOMESTIC POLICY

1. FOLLOWING IS BRIEF DISCUSSION OF TANZANIAN DOMESTIC SCENE,
INCLUDING EVENTS BEING CELEBRATED ON FEBRUARY 5. UNIQUE
ZANZIBAR ASPECTS ALREADY COVERED IN PREVIOUS SUBMISSIONS.

2. IDEOLOGY.

MORE THAN ALMOST ANY OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY, TANZANIAN DOMESTIC
AND FOREIGN POLICIES ARE DETERMINED BY A CONSCIOUS IDEOLOGY,
WHICH IS USUALLY REFERRED TO AS "SOCIALISM AND SELF-
RELIANCE". THIS IDEOLOGY, FORMULATED PRINCIPALLY BY
PRESIDENT NYERERE, STRESSES EGALITARIANISM (SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC)
AND IS MORALISTIC IN APPROACH. IT SEEKS TO ABOLISH "EXPLOITATION",
A BROAD CONCEPT WHICH INCLUDES ALL KINDS OF PRIVATE CAPITALIST
ENTERPRISE AT HOME, AND THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE
DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING WORLD ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

3. TANZANIAN SOCIALISM DIFFERS FROM MARXISM LARGELY IN ITS
REJECTION OF CLASS STRUGGLE (AS INAPPLICABLE TO THE TANZANIAN
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 00394 01 OF 02 291404Z

SITUATION), ITS ACCEPTANCE OF GENUINE FREEDOM OF RELIGION, ITS
WILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMENT SOCIALIST GOALS GRADUALLY, AND ITS
REJECTION OF BRUTALITY AS A DELIBERATE INSTRUMENT OF POLICY.
TANZANIA ACCEPTS COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AS FELLOW SOCIALISTS AND
ALLIES AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST WORLD OF CAPITALISM. TANZANIAN
SOCIALISM SUBSTITUTES SOME SWAHILI TERMS FOR MORE FAMILIAR
MARXIST ONES -- MOST NOTABLY "UJAMAA" (ROUGHLY, "FAMILYHOOD")

FOR "SOCIALISM", AND "NDUGU" ("BROTHER") FOR "COMRADE".

4. THOUGH NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS (FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, ASSEMBLY, ETC.), TANZANIAN SOCIALISM HAS SACRIFICED THEM TO THE NEED FOR IMPLEMENTING ITS IDEOLOGY. THUS, IN AN EFFORT TO WEAN THE PUBLIC FROM ITS STILL VERY EVIDENT FASCINATION WITH THE MATERIAL RICHES AND AMENITIES OF CAPITALIST SOCIETIES, TANZANIAN MEDIA PRESENT THE WORLD IN SIMPLISTIC, MORALITY-PLAY TERMS, WITH THE COMMUNIST NATIONS CAST AS THE ANGELS AND THE IMPERIALIST CAMP (INCLUDING NEIGHBORING KENYA AND THE UNITED STATES) AS EVIL-MINDED VILLAINS.

5. IN IMPLEMENTING ITS IDEOLOGY, TANZANIA HAS NATIONALIZED MAJOR PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS, BUSINESSES, AND FARMS, AND PROPOSES EVENTUALLY TO PHASE OUT PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ENTIRELY IN FAVOR OF COOPERATIVES AND STATE-OWNED COMPANIES. IT CONCENTRATES ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS ON THE RURAL PEASANTS, WHO FORM 95 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CITIES. IT HAS DRASTICALLY COMPRESSED THE RANGE OF SALARIES, BY MODERATELY INCREASING THE MINIMUM WAGE WHILE REDUCING HIGHER INCOMES BY CIVIL SERVICE SALARY CUTS, DRACONIAN PROGRESSIVE INCOME TAXATION, AND THE PROHIBITION OF SUPPLEMENTARY FORMS OF INCOME SUCH AS RENTAL PROPERTY OR JOB MOONLIGHTING.

6. ABOVE ALL, TANZANIAN IDEOLOGY HAS LED THE GOVERNMENT TO GIVE SOCIAL GOALS PRIORITY OVER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND TO ACCEPT THE COST IN OVERALL GROWTH RATES THAT HAS RESULTED FROM THIS CHOICE.

7. UJAMAA VILLAGES.

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PAGE 03 DAR ES 00394 01 OF 02 291404Z

THE BEST-KNOWN EXAMPLE OF TANZANIAN SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION IS THE SO-CALLED "UJAMAA VILLAGE". FOR MANY YEARS TANZANIAN PEASANTS -- WHO TRADITIONALLY HAVE LIVED IN SCATTERED, ISOLATED HOMESTEADS -- HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED TO COME TOGETHER TO FORM VILLAGES WHERE THEY WOULD WORK THE LAND COLLECTIVELY AND SHARE THE PROCEEDS, AND AT THE SAME TIME BEGIN TO ENJOY THE EDUCATIONAL, MEDICAL AND OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES WHICH COULD NOT BE PROVIDED TO THEM IN THE BUSH. BY THE END OF 1973, PERHAPS 18 PERCENT OF THE RURAL POPULATION HAD HEEDED THIS CALL, AND MOVED INTO VILLAGES WHOSE DEGREE OF COLLECTIVIZATION VARIED WIDELY.

8. BEGINNING IN 1974 A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN WAS UNDERTAKEN TO COMPLETE THE PROCESS, BY PERSUASION IF POSSIBLE AND BY COERCION WHERE NECESSARY. THOUGH THE NEW VILLAGES WERE EXPECTED TO OPERATE COOPERATIVELY, PEASANTS CONTINUE TO TILL INDIVIDUAL FIELDS AND RECEIVE THE INCOME THEREOF. BY THE END OF 1976, AFTER A CAMPAIGN WHICH INCLUDED MUCH INEFFICIENCY AND MISMANAGEMENT, AND OCCASIONAL INSTANCES OF BRUTALITY, IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT

13,076,220 TANZANIANS, 85 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL POPULATION, WERE LIVING IN 7,684 VILLAGES, AN INCREASE OF 4,000,000 FROM THE YEAR BEFORE.

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 00394 02 OF 02 300655Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 0394

9. NOW THE VILLAGES ARE BEING ORGANIZED AS COOPERATIVE CORPORATE UNITS, WITH BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS, AND THE EFFORT IS BEGINNING TO INDUCE THEIR MEMBERS TO UNDERTAKE COLLECTIVE PRODUCTION OF CROPS. BUT VERY FEW VILLAGES HAVE YET ACHIEVED THE DEGREE OF COLLECTIVIZATION WHICH LOCALLY ENTITLES THEM TO BE CALLED TRUE "UJAMAA VILLAGES".

10. THE ARUSHA DECLARATION.

ON FEBRUARY 5, 1967, THE TANU PARTY ANNOUNCED THE "ARUSHA DECLARATION" WHICH COMMITTED TANZANIA TO A POLICY OF "SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE". IT PROCLAIMED MANY OF THE TENETS OF TANZANIAN IDEOLOGY DISCUSSED ABOVE, INCLUDING EGALITARIANISM, THE NEED FOR SOCIALISM BOTH AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DEVELOPMENT AND A WAY OF LIFE, THE STRESS ON AGRICULTURE AND THE RURAL PEASANT, AND THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE FROM THE EXPLOITING INFLUENCE OF THE DEVELOPED WESTERN NATIONS. IT CONCLUDED BY PROHIBITING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OR TANU PARTY LEADERS FROM ANY PARTICIPATION IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, INCLUDING THE OWNERSHIP OF STOCKS OR OF RENTAL PROPERTY, AND CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES IT HAD ENUNCIATED.

11. TANU AND THE PARTY MERGER.
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PAGE 02 DAR ES 00394 02 OF 02 300655Z

SINCE BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, MAINLAND TANZANIA HAS BEEN DOMINATED BY A SINGLE PARTY, THE TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (TANU), WHILE ZANZIBAR -- WHICH JOINED WITH TANGANYIKA IN 1964-- HAS BEEN RULED BY THE AFRO-SHIRAZI PARTY (ASP). EACH HAS HAD A LEGAL MONOPOLY OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY WITHIN ITS OWN AREA. THE 1965 INTERIM CONSTITUTION OF TANZANIA PROVIDES THAT "THERE SHALL BE ONE POLITICAL PARTY IN TANZANIA" UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES (IN TERMS OF A 1975 AMENDMENT) "THE FUNCTIONS OF ALL THE ORGANS OF STATE" ARE TO BE PERFORMED. LATE IN 1975 PRESIDENT NYERERE PROPOSED THAT THE MERGER OF TANU AND ASP FORESEEN IN THE 1965 CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED, AND AFTER LONG NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ASP AND TANU THE CONSTITUTION OF A NEW PARTY WAS ADOPTED BY A JOINT SESSION OF THEIR GOVERNING BODIES IN JANUARY 1977. THE NEW PARTY, NAMED THE "CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI" (CCM) (SWAHILI FOR "PARTY OF THE REVOLUTION") IS TO BE BORN AT 6:00 P.M. ON FEBRUARY 5, 1977.

12. THE BASIC AUTONOMY OF ZANZIBAR HAS NOT BEEN AFFECTED BY THE PARTY MERGER; EVEN IN PARTY MATTERS, ZANZIBAR REPRESENTATIVES WILL HAVE A VETO POWER OVER MAJOR DECISIONS. WHAT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IS WHETHER THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW PARTY WILL BE USED TO CUT OUT DEAD WOOD IN BOTH THE OLD PARTIES, OR TO MAKE OTHER CHANGES IN TANZANIA'S IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED SOCIETY. IT IS WIDELY SPECULATED THAT PRESIDENT NYERERE INTENDS TO STEP DOWN AS PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA, WHILE RETAINING THE REAL REINS OF POWER AS PRESIDENT OF THE NEW PARTY, TO WHICH HE HAS ALREADY BEEN ELECTED. HIS PRESUMED HEIR APPARENT IS ABDOU JUMBE, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF THE NATION AND LEADER OF ZANZIBAR. WHEN SUCH A MOVE WILL TAKE PLACE -- IF IT IS TO HAPPEN AT ALL -- IS ALSO A TOPIC OF MUCH CONVERSATION BUT NO FIRM EVIDENCE.

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